



Tammes, P. J. R., & Scholten, P. (2017). Assimilation of Ethnic-Religious Minorities in the Netherlands: A Historical-Sociological Analysis of pre-WWII Jews and contemporary Muslims. *Social Science History*, 41(3), 477-504. <https://doi.org/10.1017/ssh.2017.12>

Peer reviewed version

License (if available):
CC BY-NC

Link to published version (if available):
[10.1017/ssh.2017.12](https://doi.org/10.1017/ssh.2017.12)

[Link to publication record in Explore Bristol Research](#)
PDF-document

This is the author accepted manuscript (AAM). The final published version (version of record) is available online via Cambridge University Press at <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/social-science-history/article/assimilation-of-ethnicreligious-minorities-in-the-netherlands-a-historicalsociological-analysis-of-preworld-war-ii-jews-and-contemporary-muslims/7206C5A43F2338CA7F762DA040EB381A> . Please refer to any applicable terms of use of the publisher.

University of Bristol - Explore Bristol Research

General rights

This document is made available in accordance with publisher policies. Please cite only the published version using the reference above. Full terms of use are available:
<http://www.bristol.ac.uk/red/research-policy/pure/user-guides/ebr-terms/>

Assimilation of Ethnic-Religious Minorities in the Netherlands:

A Historical-Sociological Analysis of pre-WWII Jews and contemporary Muslims

Word count: ~11,100

1. Introduction

The incorporation of ethnic-religious minorities has been a key topic of political and academic thinking for centuries. It has constituted a special challenge in terms of religious pluralism and tolerance. This applied in Europe to various Christian minorities during the last centuries such as Protestants migrating from France to the Netherlands in the 18th century. It also applied to Jews moving between various countries, mostly from East to West. More recently, it applies to Muslims that migrated from Mediterranean countries like Morocco and Turkey to West-European countries such as the Netherlands.

The arrival and settlement of ethnic-religious minorities in Europe and the United States has been one of the main sources of inspiration that spurred the development of theories of assimilation (e.g. Alba and Nee 2003; Alba 2005; Brubaker 2001; Gans 2007; Morawska 2009; Vermeulen 2010; Waters and Jiménez 2005). Assimilationist theory defines a number of processes and factors that may account for differences in degree and timing of assimilation between ethnic-religious minorities. In recent assimilation theory, as developed by Alba and Nee (2003), the conditions under which ethnic-religious minorities cross, shift or blur the boundaries with other groups come to the fore. This article seeks to contribute to this literature on boundary crossing, shifting and blurring by a comparative analysis of the assimilation of two non-Christian minority groups in different periods of Dutch history.

The assimilation of present-day minorities of Mediterranean Muslims in the Netherlands has recently received much attention. Before the settlement of Muslims in the Netherlands, the last fair-sized non-Christian minority group involved pre-WWII Jews. This article provides a historical-

sociological analysis of the assimilation of pre-WWII Jews and present-day Mediterranean Muslims in Dutch society. This historical-sociological analysis can contribute to our understanding of the assimilation of religious minorities, just as for example Engelen and Puschmann (2011) showed striking similarities in marriage patterns in the contemporary Arab world when compared to nuptiality in historical Western Europe. Similarly, Lucassen (2005, 2006) has provided various studies where integration processes or 'paths of integration' of migrant groups in different historical episodes were analysed and compared.

The comparison between the assimilation of pre-WWII Jews and that of nowadays Muslims in the Netherlands is not only academically relevant, it is also a comparison made in the context of current Dutch (political) discourses on assimilation. The former mayor of Amsterdam Job Cohen, as well as the then alderman of Amsterdam and later on minister of Social Affairs and Integration Lodewijk Asscher, often made historic references to the integration process of Jews when discussing the assimilation of nowadays Muslims in the Netherlands.¹ These references might suggest that studying the assimilation process of pre-WWII Jews is useful for understanding and putting into (historical) perspective the assimilation process of present-day Mediterranean Muslims.

The aim of this study is to capture assimilation processes of both pre-WWII Jews and present-day Mediterranean Muslims using assimilation theory. This might enable us to compare assimilation processes of both groups. Following the aim, the central research question this article addresses is what assimilation trajectories were manifest amongst present-day Mediterranean Muslims and pre-WWII Jews in Dutch society? We will discuss, following Lucassen (2005: 5), whether it is reasonable to believe that the assimilation process of contemporary minorities, such as Mediterranean Muslims, will be different in the long run from that of immigrant minorities in the past, such as the Jews.

Information on the assimilation process of Jews in the Netherlands is mainly based on findings from recent (quantitative) empirical research on the assimilation of pre-WWII Jews in the Netherlands (e.g. Tammes 2010a, 2011a, 2012a/b) that expanded on earlier overviews and findings about the

process of Jewish assimilation in the Netherlands (e.g. Blom and Cahen 1995; Boekman 1936; Kruijt 1939; Leijdesdorff 1987; Reijnders 1969; Van Zanten 1926). Information on assimilation of Mediterranean Muslims is based on a collection of research reports that included crude data such as the yearly integration reports published by Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP), and the state on integration of ethnic minorities in Amsterdam and Rotterdam jointly published by the two municipal Departments for Research and Statistics (Centrum Onderzoek en Statistiek Rotterdam (COS) & Bureau Onderzoek en Statistiek Amsterdam (O+S), 2012).

2. Assimilation theory and the incorporation of ethnic-religious minorities

Assimilation theory is one out of several theoretical perspectives on intergroup relations. Unlike multiculturalist and integrationist theories, assimilation theory stresses the element of spanning and altering boundaries between minority groups than recognizing and possibly reifying differences (Alba and Nee 2003; Brubaker 1992, 2001; Gans 2007; Park 1914). For that reason we believe that assimilation theory is a most appropriate model for our study.

Assimilation theory emerged in early 20th century as a spin-off from the Chicago School of sociology. Park's conceptualization of the race relations cycle (1914, 1939, 1984) provided a first example of assimilationist theory. Park assumed that relations between racial minorities and the majority population would pass through a cycle of contact, conflict, accommodation and eventually assimilation. As Brubaker argues (2001), this original concept of assimilation involved an organic transition of a specific homogeneous group into the majority culture. It defines assimilation as a cultural process of becoming ever more similar and eventually becoming an unrecognizable part of the majority population. It also defines assimilation as something linear and irrevocable; it is a process that cannot be reversed. Many scholars have shown that promoting assimilation was at the heart of race relations and minority policies of many nation states (Bloemraad et al. 2008; Brubaker 1992; Joppke and Morawska 2003).

More recent strings of assimilationist theory have a different conceptualization of assimilation. Many argue that the original transitive and organic form of assimilation was never really achieved; the 'melting pot' did not happen (Alba and Nee 1997; Glazer and Moynihan 1963; Glazer 1997). Various efforts have been made to redefine and conceptualize assimilation to make sense of the more differentiated outcomes of assimilation trajectories. Gordon's framework distinguished various dimensions on which assimilation could take place, ranging from simple acculturation to structural assimilation (Gordon 1964). Lucassen (2005) also distinguished between identificational forms of assimilation, also described as cultural assimilation, and structural forms of assimilation that refer primarily to full participation rather than to identification. Portes defined what he called segmented assimilation as a process where assimilation may take place in some spheres or segments of immigrants' lives will not or very differently affecting other segments (Portes and Zhou 1993). Brubaker (2003) redefines assimilation in a more abstract manner as a heterogeneous and an intransitive process that usually takes place over various generations and relates to socio-economic as well as socio-cultural issues. In Morawska's ethnicization approach (1994), assimilation does not involve a homogeneous process, but different stages of assimilation and variations in pace of assimilation among immigrant or minority groups, taking into account concrete historical circumstances. Furthermore, Gans (1992) introduced the concept of the bumpy-line trajectory, and argued that the assimilation of successive generations does not always follow a linear trajectory, but assimilation processes or outcomes could vary over time or between generations.

These changes in the conceptualization of assimilation are included in the conceptual framework of the modernized assimilation theory developed by Alba and Nee (2003). Within their framework of modernized assimilation theory, a variety of mechanisms shape the paths of assimilation. In addition to individual incentives and motives, the path of assimilation can be affected by cultural, social, financial, and human capital. Network mechanisms, or social-exchange mechanisms, monitor and enforce the norms and informal rules that provide the guidelines for group

or individual actions, possibly even blocking particular (individual) patterns of social or economic mobility. At the same time, changes in the formal and informal rules of mainstream society can result in a decline in religious or ethnic distinctions that may contribute to a wider acceptance of different cultural and social values in society and to an increase in the price of discrimination.

Alba and Nee give much prominence to institutions due to their focus on assimilation of migrants in the United States and the racial barriers, especially the deeply rooted color-coded racism African Americans have faced (Alba and Nee 2003: 59). In Europe, however, religion has had a profound impact upon values and relationships for ages, since European societies have deeply institutionalized religious (Christian) identities (e.g. Foner and Alba 2008). Religion is therefore considered an important layer of the European individual identity.

Elaborating this intransitive and heterogeneous conceptualization of assimilation, Alba and Nee have conceptualized processes of spanning and altering group boundaries in terms of crossing, blurring and shifting Alba & Nee (2003: 56-60). *Boundary crossing* comes closest to the original conception of individual-level assimilation (ibid.: 60). It refers to social practices and behaviour of members of minorities that stress being part of the majority population rather than the minority population, such as changing their names, taking on its habits of speech, dress, and behaviour (ibid.: 61). Such boundary crossing may take place in some spheres while preserving boundaries in other spheres; for instance, boundary crossing into the economic or even the cultural sphere may take place without crossing boundaries in the religious sphere.

Boundary blurring refers to social practices and behaviours that involve inter-group relations, signalling that a boundary can be transgressed rather than being crossed or that boundaries have become irrelevant altogether. It can refer for instance to intergroup contact of members by marriage, socioeconomic and residential opportunities supported by institutional mechanisms, such as law, public perception, and social values, enforcing equal rights (ibid.: 61-63, 287). Finally, *boundary shifting* involves the inclusion of previously disparaged groups by changing racial perceptions or by

redefinition of the racial status of a group (ibid.: 61, 132, 288-289). This may involve changing ways of 'imagining the national community' (Anderson 1983).

To measure the degree of blurring, crossing and shifting we ideally need indicators measured over time. This timing is not necessarily related to generations, age, or a fixed time span. In the next section we will describe the indicators to measure processes of boundary altering or spanning.

3. Measuring boundary crossing, blurring and shifting

To conduct a historical-sociological study we collected data on boundary shifting, blurring and crossing among pre-WWII Jews and present-day Muslims in the Netherlands. In order to study these assimilation process and to be able to compare across these two groups we selected specific indicators of each of these three trajectories of assimilation. Whereas the distinguished boundary altering processes might be seen as ideal types (Alba and Nee 2003: 60), we assigned indicators to each of the three types based on the labelling by Alba and Nee in their book *Remaking the American Mainstream* and other academic publications (e.g. Alba 2006; Kivisto and Faist 2009). Furthermore, we selected only indicators on which we could collect adequate data or information for both pre-WWII Jews and contemporary Muslims.

Table 1 shows the indicators that we will focus on. For boundary crossing we focus firstly on the observances of religious practices. Therefore, we gather data on the percentage of Jewish families in Amsterdam that observed Sabbatical and the percentage of Muslim that observed Ramadan. Secondly, we focus on the consumption of kosher and Halal food, within respectively the Jewish community and Muslim community, by determining the number of shops that provide these special foods. Third, we focus on conversion. Hence we need to collect data that presents the percentages converted to Christianity. Higher percentages converted Jews or Muslims and lesser observance of religious practices indicates stronger level of boundary crossing.

To investigate boundary blurring we focus on intermarriage, residential segregation, and religious (dis)affiliation. Intermarriage, the most intimate form of mixing, will be measured as the percentage of religious intermarried Jews and Muslims. Higher level of intermarriages indicates stronger boundary blurring. Secularization in the Netherlands started in the first decades of the twentieth century. This trend blurred boundaries between persons who were previously separated by their religious denomination. Higher proportion of religious unaffiliated Jews or Muslims indicates that these groups joined the national trend in secularization. The process of residential segregation or a group's spread is described through the index of dissimilarity (ID), one of the generally accepted standards by which means residential segregation may be measured (Massey and Denton 1988). The ID varies between 0 and 100, and represents the proportion of group members who would have to relocate for the minority group to have the same spatial distribution as the remainder of a city's population. The higher this index, the more residentially segregated members of a group live; values of 70 or more are seen as very high, in the 60s as moderately high, and in the 50s as high.

Finally, boundary shifting may be manifested in growing minority involvement in politics and in civic services. The participation in politics will be determined by collecting information on appointed Jews and Muslims as civil governors at the national, provincial and municipal level. To measure civic involvement, we collected data that inform us about the proportion of Jews or Muslims having a job in the civil service sector. When Jews or Muslims are appointed in representative positions, such as mayor, or elected in assemblies, such as the town and provincial council, boundaries are shifting as governors had apparently no objection to appoint them and voters no objections to elect them. Furthermore, higher proportions of Jews or Muslims within public sector jobs also indicate a shifting of boundaries.

HERE TABLE 1

For all the selected indicators data is available for both the pre-WWII Jews and for present-day Muslims. In this study, we will primarily use quantitative data since these data are more useful in defining patterns or trends over time.

However, a caveat in terms of data availability and comparability is that some of the data sources for both groups differ. Whereas nearly all information on pre-WWII Jews are data from census or local registry, some of the information on Muslims are also derived from inquiries. A second caveat might be that much of the available data collected on pre-WWII Jews applies to Amsterdam only. About 60% of the Jews in the Netherlands lived in Amsterdam around 1900. Hence this study will focus on pre-WWII Jews in Amsterdam. To analyse assimilation trajectories of Mediterranean Muslims we also collected local data on Amsterdam. Furthermore, we used comparable data relevant to our study on Muslims in Rotterdam as a second large concentration of Muslims lives in this city. Focusing on urban setting for both groups will result in findings on urban assimilation which might differ from assimilation in small towns or rural settings (Morawska 1996). Third, while Jews in this study are those who belonged to an Israelite congregation, data on those belonging nowadays to an Islamic congregation (Muslims) is harder to find, since religion is less often registered or administrated. Hence most of the data on Muslims involve Moroccan and Turkish inhabitants. Finally, a caveat in the analysis is that most of the families of pre-WWII Jews had been in the Netherlands for a long time or several generations, whereas the families of contemporary Muslim in the Netherlands are only first, second or third generation at most. However, we do not distinguish between first, second and subsequent generations since the available data for both the contemporary Muslims (i.e. Turks and Moroccans) and the pre-WWII Jews often do not allow us to make such a distinction. The difference in length of stay between both groups might affect our findings regarding the assimilation in both groups. Nonetheless, it does not obscure our focus on understanding the process of assimilation of religious minorities.

4. Assimilation trajectories of pre-WWII Jews

Although Jews settled permanently in Amsterdam from the beginning of the 17th century onwards, they were granted full civic rights in 1796. Only a small wealthy group of Jews, however, experienced more general emancipation and showed tendencies towards integration after the granting of civic rights. In the first decades of the twentieth century most were still excluded from trade, craft, or public positions which limit integration (Sonnenberg-Stern 2000). Furthermore, reforms were needed to emancipate Jews; Jewish schools were ordered to teach their pupils Dutch (Zwiep 2000), and Jewish congregations needed to adapt and to reorganize in line with Dutch legislation of separation of State and Church or 'privatization' of religion (Daalder 1978; Reijnders 1969: 110-112). The great majority of Jews could experience, social, cultural and economic emancipation only after the Netherlands witnessed industrial growth from 1870 onwards, the religious reorganization of the Jewish congregation, due to the granted civil rights, was completed (Blom and Cahen 1995), and discriminatory measures were removed (Sonnenberg-Stern 2000). In this section the focus is therefore mainly on the assimilation process of Amsterdam Jews in the first four decades of the 20th century.

Around 1900, about 103,000 Jews lived in the Netherlands and about 60,000 of them in Amsterdam; among the Amsterdam Jews about 92% belonged to the Dutch Israelite congregation and about 8% to the Portuguese Israelite congregation (Tammes 2010b). In our study we do not make a distinction between these groups, mostly because religious and social differences between the two groups diminished in the 19th century and intermarriage rates were high (Boekman 1936: 21, 66). At the end of the 1930s nearly 80,000 Jews lived in Amsterdam, about 56% of all Jews in the Netherlands. At that time around 15% was non-Dutch, mostly German Jews, more than half of them migrated in the 1930s to the Netherlands (Tammes 2010b).

4.1. Boundary blurring: Jewish-Gentile Intermarriage

Jewish-Gentile intermarriage constitutes a key indicator of the assimilation process of Jews in the Netherlands. Figure 1 shows the trend for religious intermarried Jews covering the period 1901-1940 in five-year intervals. In the first decade of the 20th century around 5% of the Jews who entered into matrimony married a Gentile. In the second decade this percentage doubled. In the first half of the 1930s about 17% of the Jews who entered into matrimony married a Gentile, though in the second half of the 1930s this percentage dropped slightly. Despite the sharp increase of mixed marriage among Jews, they had not reached the share of mixed marriage among Catholics and Protestants (Kruijt 1936: 64-65). More important might be with whom Jews intermarried.

HERE FIGURE 1

By calculating odds ratios we are able to determine the preferences for spouses in religious intermarriages, since this statistical measure takes into account the compositional factor or group size of different ethnic-religious groups. Our log odds ratio calculations are based on marriage tables for 1911-1941, which were published in the Amsterdam statistical yearbooks (see Tammes 2010a; Ultee and Luijkx 1998).² We have put all the calculated log odds ratios together in figure 2 allowing us to analyse intermarriage patterns. In this figure a general preference pattern can be noticed: Jewish-unaffiliated intermarriages were most common, while Jewish-Catholic intermarriages were least common and Jewish-Protestant intermarriages are in-between. This distinction in preferences becomes clearer in the course of time, as the log odd ratios for especially Jewish-unaffiliated intermarriages decrease more strongly in the beginning of the 1930s. The remaining higher log odds ratios for Jewish-Catholic marriages indicate aversion between both groups to intermarry, especially among Catholics (Tammes 2010a).

HERE FIGURE 2

Statistical analysis by Tammes (2010a) of a sample of several hundred Amsterdam-born persons of Jewish origin, that is having Jewish grandparents, of whom was known whether they were married to a Gentile or to a Jew between 1901 and 1941 allowed to determine the impact of people's preferences, opportunities to meet co-members and members of other groups, and third parties on intermarriage (see e.g. Kalmijn 1998). His findings showed that successive marriage cohorts of persons of Jewish origin who themselves still belonged to a Jewish congregation had a higher chance to marry a Gentile. A similar but weaker effect is found for those born in the original Amsterdam Jewish neighbourhood. These differences in effect on later marriage cohorts indicate that religious and social barriers within the Jewish community to marry a Gentile had diminished. Opportunities or restrictions such as the wider social network of an Amsterdam-born mother, and a higher proportion of Jewish inhabitants in one's living district during one's adolescents' age decreased the likelihood to meet and marry a Gentile.

4.2. Boundary blurring: Residential segregation

The Amsterdam's Jewish neighbourhood was founded centuries ago and generations of Jews had lived there already. For Jews this neighbourhood was a place with its own social atmosphere and culture where people maintained both work and social day-to-day contacts. Van Engelsdorp Gastelaars et al. (1985) calculated the index of dissimilarity (ID) for 1795, 1849, 1906, 1920 and 1930 for Jews, individuals belonging to the Portuguese or Dutch Jewish congregation, in Amsterdam. Figure 3 shows that between 1795 and 1906, and especially in the second half of the nineteenth century, the ID dropped by approximately 20 points, indicating decreasing residential segregation of Jews in Amsterdam. From 1906 to 1930 the ID dropped another 10 points. Although the ID continued to fall during the first decades of the twentieth century, the downward trajectory of these trend had come to a halt by 1941, as the calculated ID by Tammes (2011a) shows in figure 3 (see also Ultee and Luijkx (1998). A calculation omitting foreign Jews shows a slightly higher ID level, indicating that the halt in

residential segregation was not due to the settlement of German Jewish immigrants arriving in the second half of the 1930s.

HERE FIGURE 3

A continuing decrease in these indices might have been expected as a result of the demolition of slums in the Jewish neighbourhood and the large increase in the construction of council housing in quarters outside this neighbourhood after the First World War (Leydesdorff 1987: 122, 138, 175). As with Tilly's (1990) transplanted networks, Jewish settlement in the newly-built areas could have attracted other Jews to these areas, resulting in new areas of Jewish concentration. However, a halt in the process of spatial assimilation was observed, which aligns with a decrease in Jewish-Gentile marriages in the second half of the 1930s, suggesting that the blurring of boundaries between Jews and Gentiles did not continue on a straight line trajectory from previous decades, but followed a "bumpy" course, to use Gans' term (1992).

4.3. Boundary blurring: religiously unaffiliated

According to the census results of 1920, the proportion of religiously unaffiliated was among the lowest in the Jewish neighbourhood compared to other Amsterdam districts (Kruijt 1933: 265-267). Jews dropping their religious affiliation became more common in the 1920s and 1930s, resulting in about 10% of those descended from Jewish grandparents being religiously unaffiliated in 1941 (table 2). These findings might indicate that Jews shared the more general societal process of church leaving in Dutch society and that religious boundaries started to blur (Tammes 2012a).

4.4. Boundaries crossing: conversion to Christianity and adherence to Jewish rituals and practices

Jews who abandoned Judaism without converting, i.e. became unaffiliated, are excellent examples of minority members who assimilated by boundary blurring, whereas Jews who converted to Christianity are a good example of minority members who assimilated by boundary crossing. Around 1900 nearly all Jewish descendants belonged to a Jewish congregation. Table 2 shows that the rate of conversion to Christianity among Jewish descendants in 1941 is still very low, indicating hardly any crossing of religious boundaries.

HERE TABLE 2

Judging from adherence to three pivotal Jewish rituals, we might conclude that the Jews in Amsterdam maintained strong ties with Jewish tradition during the twentieth century: about 95% of the Jewish-born boys were circumcised, 92% of Jewish marriages were solemnized according to Jewish rites, and virtually all Jewish dead were buried in Jewish cemeteries in the 1930s (Boekman 1936: 67-68, 104, 119). As for Sabbath observance, however – a fundamental part of Judaism and Jewish family life – we see a different picture. In 1896, the Dutch New Israelite Weekly (*Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad* (NIW)) discussed several times the rising number of Jewish Sabbath-breakers. Sabbath observance was also the subject of an ongoing discussion within the Diamond Workers' Guild (ANDB) between 1901 and 1903 with regard to whether the union should support observance of the Sabbath, only support by less than a quarter of the members (Hofmeester 2004). Jewish film exhibitors kept their theatres open on the Sabbath, but according to De Jong and Thissen (2010) privately honoured it. Although these Jewish exhibitors, a small group of mainly traditional Jews from Eastern and Central Europe might have observed Sabbath with family and friends –leaving business that day to non-Jewish employees, a far majority of Jews in Amsterdam might not have observe Sabbath. Tammes (2011b) determined that about one third of the Jewish families in Amsterdam observed Sabbath in 1900. Furthermore, Reijnders (1969: 119-120) stated that about 13% of the Jewish shop owners in Amsterdam observed Sabbath closing times in 1941, while among Jewish food shops about 12% was

kosher. These numbers might indicate to a further decrease in Sabbath observance and kosher food consumption among Jews in Amsterdam during the first decades of the twentieth century – none other than Jewish shops sold kosher food, and signify further boundary crossing with regard working and shopping on Friday afternoon and Saturday, and food preparation and consumption.

4.5. Boundary shifting: political and civic involvement, and prejudice

After the granting of civic rights in 1796 and after the guilds in 1798 officially ceased to exist, Jews could legally enter any kind of profession, including occupations in civil service, education and advocacy (Reijnders 1969: 46). When we look at the occupational structure, Jews were employed primarily in the diamond sector and in trade (Kruijt 1939; Tammes 2012b). To measure boundary shifting it might be more important to look at the appointment of Jews in civil service or public sector. In 1851, about 1.8% of all civil servants in Amsterdam belonged to an Israelite congregation.³ This percentage is much lower than their share in the Amsterdam population, at that time around 11%. Although this percentage had increased to 4.5% in 1906, the percentage was still lower than their share among the Amsterdam population.⁴ The percentage of Jews in civil services in Amsterdam was again around 2% in 1941 (Michman 1995: 49). Only after the Second World War Amsterdam had an appointed Jewish mayor, while probably in none of the other Dutch municipalities a Jew was mayor before 1940 (Daalder 1978: 187-188).

When looking at elected representative positions, the first Jews in the Dutch assembly were elected in 1797, and out of the 1,600 members of parliament who were elected since 1848, 30 of them were Jews whereas another 20 were of Jewish descent but had abandoned Judaism (Daalder 1978: 186-187). By the end of the 19th century Jewish representation in the Lower House had become a structural element (Hofmeester 2011). At lower governmental levels, De Vries (1996) shows Jews being member of the *Provinciale Staten* (Provincial Assembly) of North Holland, including Amsterdam, from 1850 onward increased, especially during the second decade of the 20th century. Brasz (1985) presents a

similar overview of Jews being a member of the *Gemeenteraad* (Municipal Assembly or city council). Although her overview is a selection of 62 Dutch municipalities, it shows that the appointment of Jews increased from around 1900 onwards. In 1798 two Jews became a member of the Amsterdam city council, and in the first half of the 19th century representation of Jews in the Amsterdam city council was nearly continuous (Daalder 1978: 187; Wallet 2005). In the 1930s four Jewish aldermen served simultaneously in Amsterdam (Daalder 1978: 188).⁵

Prejudice might be a barrier to assimilation. Whereas Jews in the Netherlands did not face discriminatory laws of political, economic, or financial nature in the beginning of the twentieth century, anti-Jewish sentiments were present in Dutch society. In memoirs and interviews, restrictions for Jews in Amsterdam to enter some clubs and restaurants are often mentioned (e.g. Bergstein & Bloemgarten 1999; Leydesdorff 1987). Furthermore, some companies or employers did not hire Jews, and some instances of humiliations or maltreatment in public are mentioned. One of the strongest anti-Jewish sentiments was anti-Judaism among Catholics; this aversion might be one of the main causes for a lower Jewish-Catholic intermarriage rate when compared to other Jewish-Gentile intermarriages rates. Although Ramakers (2006) and Poorthuis and Salemink (2006) concluded from their research into anti-Judaism within Catholics magazines that the level of anti-Judaism varied over time, most evidence of anti-Jewish sentiments among different (religious) groups in Dutch society is anecdotal and hardly any quantitative evidence is presented.

One might take the electoral support the National Socialist Movement (NSB) in the Netherlands received in the 1930s as an indicator of anti-Semitism. The NSB became more and more anti-Semitic during the 1930s, following the national socialist in Nazi Germany, and higher local electoral NSB support was associated with relative greater number of Jewish inhabitants in a municipality (Flap and Tammes 2008). During the Provincial Estates elections in 1935 the NSB received in Amsterdam 11% of the votes while this dropped to 6% during the Provincial Estates election in 1939. One might argue that a higher local electoral support might indicate a higher local

level of anti-Semitism, however, other factors such as the level of unemployment, urbanization and the degree of pillarization, or segmentation, impacted local electoral support for NSB (e.g. *ibid.*). Altogether, on the existing knowledge of anti-Semitism we are reserved to bring electoral NSB support forward as a key factor that prevented boundary shifting and dictated the path of integration.

4.6. Assimilation trajectory of pre-WWII Jews: creating a new intermediate zone by boundary blurring

Both intermarriage and residential segregation show a continuous process of blurring of boundaries between Jews and Gentiles, though this process came to a halt in the second half of the 1930s that might be caused by the economic recession or the future-shadow of the Nazi occupation. More and more Jews left the Jewish district and moved to other districts and neighbouring Gentiles. Most of the Jewish-Gentile couples created a non-denominational family as Jewish–unaffiliated intermarriages were most common. Moreover, most of the children born in mixed households were officially registered as ‘religiously unaffiliated’ (Tammes 2010b). Furthermore, Jews who abandoned Judaism became religiously unaffiliated rather than converted to Christianity. These trends indicate that Jews shared the process of secularization in the Dutch society. Our analysis shows, besides the abovementioned evidence of boundary blurring, less evidence of boundary crossing or shifting.

We might in line with some other scholars argue that Jews gradually vanished as a minority and were on their way to assimilate structurally and culturally (e.g. Kruijt 1939; Lucassen 1994; Blom and Cahen 1995). They, however, overlook the structure and composition of the Dutch society where none of the ethnic-religious or denominational groups formed a majority, except the Roman Catholics in the southern part, or did not go into detail about the process of assimilation, e.g. the importance of different types of boundary alternation. The Netherlands was at that time a pluriformous society highly segmented along religious or ideological sections or pillars, which Dutch scholars labelled *verzuiling* (pillarization) (e.g. Kruijt 1957). Jews, however, never coalesced into a real pillar for several

reasons (Daalder 1978). One of the reasons was the attraction of liberalism and socialism. Especially the rise of socialism was a new segment, or to phrase the term used by Alba and Nee (2003: 287) an 'intermediate zone', in the pillarized Dutch society that attracted and was created by intermarrying Jews, and Jews and Christians who had abandoned their religious affiliation. Within the socialist and liberal segments religious-ethnic background was of less importance, though individuals could maintain some rituals or practices. However, especially Sabbath observance and kosher food regulations were often not honoured; probably these rituals were harder to maintain in a more non-religious environment. Most of the elected Jews or persons of Jewish origin on representative positions were members of the socialist or liberal party and were mainly elected for that reason (e.g. Hofmeester 2011).

5. Assimilation trajectories of present-day minorities of Mediterranean Muslims

In the last decades Islam has developed into the second largest religion, after Christianity, in the Netherlands. Muslims enjoyed the same civil right as Dutch natives from their arrival onwards in the early seventies while a multicultural ideology, seen as a continuity of the pillarization mentality (Schrover 2010), in the 1970s and 1980s promoted cultural origin and authenticity. From the early seventies to the early 2000s, the percentage of Muslims in Dutch society increased from less than 0.5% to about 5% in 2006 (CBS 2009: 37). Mediterranean Muslims of Moroccan and Turkish descent make up for the largest part of Muslims in Dutch society, nearly 70% (CBS 2009: 38). In 2010 about 733,000 Moroccans and Turks lived in the Netherlands, of whom about 27% lived in Amsterdam and Rotterdam.⁶ In 2010, Amsterdam counted 40,370 Turkish and 69,439 Moroccan inhabitants, respectively 5.3% and 9% of the Amsterdam population, and Rotterdam counted 46,868 Turkish and 38,982 Moroccan inhabitants, respectively 7.9% and 6.6% of the Rotterdam population (COS and O+S 2012: 14). In this section we focus on Turkish and Moroccan inhabitants in those two cities, nearly all Muslims.

5.1. Boundary blurring: Intermarriage among Muslims

Over the period 1998-2011, a stable majority of Muslims considers it important that 'their daughter marries a Muslim' (SCP, 2012: 123-124). This attitude is reflected in the overall marriage figures for the Netherlands presented by the Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP 2012: 49-50): Turks and Moroccans mainly choose a partner of their own ethnic-religious group, although the preference for a partner born in the same country of origin decreased sharply between 2001 and 2010. Local data from the city of Amsterdam and Rotterdam show that of the total number of married Turkish and Moroccan men around 5% of them was married with someone outside their own ethnic-religious community between 2004-2011. These percentages of intermarried Turkish and Moroccan men do hardly show any change during this period (figure 4).

HERE FIGURE 4

Although intermarriage rates are low, it is interesting to see who were more likely to intermarry; such an analysis might also give an indication about future perspectives on intermarriage. In their annual Integration report, the Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP 2012: 50-52, appendices B2.6 en B2.7) made use of the framework preferences, opportunities, and third parties on intermarriage (see e.g. Kalmijn 1998; see also section Jewish-Gentile intermarriage) to determine the likelihood of intermarriage among members of present-day minority groups. Their analyses show that those who are descendants of Dutch-born parent(s) and those who marry at a later age had a higher chance to marry someone outside their ethnic group. The chance to intermarry decreases when living in a neighbourhood with a high number or a high proportion of inhabitant from their own ethnic group and when the neighbourhood had a higher level of ethnic diversity. A higher proportion of Western-migrants increases this chance to intermarry, especially to marry a native Dutch.

5.2. Boundary blurring: Residential segregation among Muslims

In the above section it is shown that the likelihood to intermarry is impacted by the proportion of members of one's own ethnic group in the living district. The extent to which Muslims live concentrated in the Netherlands might have increased. The number of neighbourhoods where migrants make up for more than half of the population increased from 23 in 1998 to 52 in 2011, even with seven neighbourhoods with over 75% migrant population (SCP et al., 2011: 180). A better indicator to measure the degree in residential segregation is the index of dissimilarities (ID). In the joint publication by COS and O+S (2012), ID's are given for several ethnic minority groups, such as Turkish and Moroccan, in Amsterdam and Rotterdam. In figure 5, the IDs show a slight increase from 41 to 45 for Turkish citizen and 39 to 42 for Moroccan citizen in Amsterdam. In the first decade of the 21st century the proportion of non-Western citizen, for a greater part Turkish and Moroccan citizen, had fallen in the older Amsterdam districts while their proportion had increased in the newer or suburban districts (ibid.: 13; Kullberg and Kulu-Glasgow 2009: 73). As with Tilly's (1990) transplanted networks, Turkish and Moroccan settlement in the newer districts resulted in new areas of concentration in Amsterdam (see also Kullberg & Kulu-Glasgow 2009: 87), and therefore their IDs hardly changed between 1995 and 2011.

HERE FIGURE 5

Also in Rotterdam the proportion of non-Western citizens in the older districts, for a greater part Turkish and Moroccan citizen, had fallen while their proportion in the newer districts had increased (COS and O+S 2012: 13). Contrary to Amsterdam, this moving resulted in less concentration in newer areas but more spreading across Rotterdam as the IDs for both groups dropped about 10 index-points (figure 5). This drop indicates less spatial segregation and blurring of boundaries in Rotterdam.

5.3. Boundary blurring: abandoning Islam

Although there is no data on religious conversion per se, there is data on self-ascription in term of religiously affiliated for Turks and Moroccans. These data show that a vast majority of first as well as second generation Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands defines itself as being Muslim (95% and 97% respectively for Turks and Moroccans (SCP 2012: 117, B6, 8-9), though there is some evidence that second generation Muslims identify less strongly in terms of religion than the first generation (Maliepaard, Lubbers and Gijsberts 2010). We believe that the small percentages who do not define themselves as Muslims are rather religiously unaffiliated than converts to Christianity. In Rotterdam in 2008 and 2010 nearly all Turks and Moroccans are religiously affiliated, most likely Islam (COS and O+S 2012: 22, 54). In Amsterdam for both groups the percentages religiously affiliated is about 10 percentage-points lower, though slightly fluctuating across the first decade of the 21st century (figure 6). However, one might conclude that Turks and Moroccans are (still) very religiously affiliated, especially when compared to members of other ethnic minority groups (ibid.: 22, 54).

HERE FIGURE 6

Boundary crossing: adherence to Islamic rituals and practices

Local data from Amsterdam show that a vast majority (91%) of Turkish and Moroccan Muslims observe the month of Ramadan (O+S 2008). Furthermore, for the first generation about 40% of Amsterdam's Muslims and for the second generation about 30% visits a mosque at least once a week. In fact, these percentages have increased slightly between 2002 and 2010 (O+S 2012). The number of Halal butcher shops provides an approximation of the demand for Halal food. Between 1975 and 1995 the number of Halal butchers went up from 8 to 88, probably due to the continuous increase of the Muslim population. However, between 1995 and 2005 it went down to 67 – around that time supermarkets started to offer Halal meat, although the percentage of total butcher shops remained

more or less stable between 32% and 34% (O+S 2008). These findings from Amsterdam, reveal that a great majority of Turks and Muslims are (still) religiously affiliated and rituals such as the observing Ramadan and eating Halal food are regarded as important, while at the same time visiting the Mosque (on Friday) is of less importance.

5.4. Boundary shifting: political and civic involvement, and prejudice

An indicator whether boundaries are shifting involves whether public attitudes to ethnic-religious minorities are shifting. Local data shows that about 14% of the total Amsterdam population has a negative or very negative attitude toward Muslims in general (O+S 2011: 29). Especially the perception of Moroccans is very negative (about 30% of the population), whereas Turks are perceived relatively more positively. Trend data show that these negative images have increased since the period 2004-2007 where the percentage of the population that had a negative perception of Moroccans peaked as high as 41-45%.

Another indicator of boundary shifting is political participation of members of Muslim communities (Tillie, 2004). In national politics, the number of Turkish and Moroccan members of the Second House of Parliament increased over the last decade, from just 3 Turks and 2 Moroccans in 2003 to 6 Turks and 5 Moroccans in 2010 (Instituut voor Publiek en Politiek 2010: 11). At the local level, a similar trend can be identified from only about 30 Turkish and less than 10 Moroccan members of municipal councils in 1994, to a total of about 160 Turkish and about 60 Moroccans in 2010 (ibid.: 8). These totals, however, do not include information on location and cannot provide as details on the city council members in Amsterdam and Rotterdam. For Rotterdam, it is important to observe that a Mayor of Moroccan descent was appointed in 2009.

Besides political participation, being employed in governmental occupations such as police, school, municipal offices is a sign of being accepted and trusted by natives in the host country. Combining information given in O+S reports (COS and O+S 2012: 70, 94-95; O+S 2009: 93-94) such as the

potential labour force among Turkish and Moroccan populations, the percentage of those groups participating in labour, and the percentages of the participating labour force of those groups working in governmental jobs allow us to calculate the percentages of Turks and Moroccans of all those working in governmental jobs around 2008, respectively 4.8 and 6.1. The percentage of Turkish civil servants of all civil servants nearly equals their share in the Amsterdam population, 5% of the Amsterdam population was Turkish in 2008. The percentage Moroccan civil servants of all civil servants is about two-third of their share in the Amsterdam population, 9% of the Amsterdam population was Moroccan in 2008.

Prejudice can, in contrast to the preceding indicators, be an obstacle to boundary shifting. Data for Amsterdam shows that inhabitants of Turkish and Moroccan descent feel much more discriminated against than natives, though there seems to be a slight decreasing trend between 2007 and 2010: in 2007 no less than 53% of Turkish and 39% of Moroccans in Amsterdam indicated that they are sometimes or even often confronted with discrimination, whereas these figures were 39% and 32% respectively for 2010 (COS and O+S 2012). Similarly, for Rotterdam the number of Moroccans and Turks that had experienced discrimination over the preceding year decreased from 28% and 27% respectively in 2008 to 26% and 24% respectively in 2010. More in general, Dutch data confirms that mutual perceptions of Muslims and non-Muslims in Dutch society are very negative (SCP 2009), which according to Sniderman and Hagendoorn (2007) indicates 'rejection' and 'cultural conflict.' The percentage of Dutch natives who agreed that 'Muslims can make a contribution to Dutch culture' decreased initially from 45% in 1998 to 34% in 2004 and then gradually increased again to 36% in 2006 and 41% in 2008 (SCP 2009: 272). Also, the percentage of Dutch natives who considered the European way of life and Islam to be incompatible decreased from 53% in 1998 to 41% in 2008 (ibid).

Voting for anti-immigrant parties that focus specifically on Islam can also be considered a proxy for prejudice toward Muslims. Several of these parties can be identified in Dutch national politics in particular, which due to high turn-out rates is usually the best indicator of political

preference. Especially the Pim Fortuyn Party (LPF) and the Freedom Party (led by Geert Wilders) ran an explicit anti-Islam agenda. In 2002 the LPF obtained 26 of a total of 150 seats in parliament, which decreased rapidly to 8 in 2003 before vanishing from parliament in 2006. The Freedom Party entered parliament in 2006 with 9 seats, increasing to 24 in 2010 and decreasing again to 15 in 2012. This shows that over the last decade or so there has been significant electoral support for an anti-Islam agenda - i.e. the Freedom Party attracted more electoral support in 2006 in municipalities with higher percentage of non-Western immigrants and where native residents were more likely to be exposed to non-Western migrants in daily life (Van der Paauw and Flache 2012). Though these figures are also representative for Rotterdam, it should be added that these parties never acquired a similar power basis in Amsterdam. In Amsterdam the percentage of voters for one of these parties for the national elections has never been higher than 16.5% in 2002.

5.5. Assimilation trajectory of Mediterranean Muslims: virtual absence of boundary altering

Boundary blurring has hardly taken place as interreligious marriage remains exceptional among Muslims in the Netherlands. The low intermarriage rate might be due to the discrepancy between Mediterranean Muslim stressing the relevance of faith and the secularized Dutch society whereas restrictive migration policies might have enforced marriage from the homeland (Lucassen and Laarman 2009). Furthermore, local concentration of Mediterranean Muslim does not stimulate intermarriage. Their residential segregation in Amsterdam slightly increased, though in Rotterdam it showed a decreasing tendency.

There seems also hardly any evidence of boundary crossing, as Mediterranean Muslims continue to observe many religious practices, with indications of a slight increase of religious observance. When it comes to political participation there is some evidence of boundary shifting as more and more Muslims are involved in local politics and public administration. However, the high levels of prejudice against Muslims show that the foundation of this boundary shifting might be weak.

Although another research addressed the significant progress of especially young Muslims in the spheres of education and labour market participation (SCP 2011), our analysis shows less evidence of boundary altering amongst present-day Mediterranean Muslims, in both Amsterdam and Rotterdam.

These findings might indicate perseverance of boundaries between Dutch Muslims and Dutch society, they however should not be interpreted as a sign of pillarization. Indeed, we do see evidence of socio-economic participation without socio-cultural assimilation, like in the period of pillarization, but Dutch Islam is not at all organized as a pillar (see also Maussen 2011) and by means of comparison, nor did the pre-WWII Jews (Daalder 1978). Since their organizational structure is weak and fragmented, their position in Dutch society is far too weak to speak of a pillar that would be in equilibrium with other pillars or organized segments.

Rather, the slow process of boundary altering are indications that Muslims are (still) not going through a process of secularization (see also SCP 2012: 133-134). This may be due to endogenous reasons, such as the genesis of a Dutch Islamic community, but it may also be related to global developments in the Islamic world or even be an inadvertent effect of the negative discourse on Islam that has prevailed in the Netherlands over the past decades (see also Buijs 2009).

6. Boundary altering amongst two non-Christian ethnic minorities groups in the Netherlands: conclusion and discussion

Alba and Nee's operationalization of assimilation theory was used in this research as a framework for a historical-sociological analysis of assimilation trajectories of pre-WWII Jews and present-day Mediterranean Muslims in Dutch society. Examining assimilation trajectories of pre-WWII Jews might give us a great insight into processes of assimilation of a fair-sized non-Christian group in a Christian society spanning some decades and that is well-documented and studied recently. Understanding the pre-WWII experiences of Jews could then be a key in understanding recent assimilation of non-

Christian groups and might in this case contribute to our knowledge of assimilation processes of present-day Mediterranean Muslims in Dutch society.

HERE TABLE 3

What stands out from our analysis is that the assimilation trajectories of both religious groups have been distinctly different. As table 3 shows, the assimilation trajectory of pre-WWII Jews for a great extent altered boundaries. This seems to apply less to current-day Mediterranean Muslims. The difference between both groups is perhaps clearest when it comes to boundary blurring. For pre-WWII Jews, intermarriage and residential spreading across different neighbourhoods form the clearest signs of assimilation. For current-day Muslims intermarriage remains rare although marriages between Muslims from different migrant communities have become more common and marriages with Muslims from the (parents') country of origin have become less common. Also, residential segregation seems persistent, especially in Amsterdam, though is already at a lower level than pre-WWII Jews ever had reached. However, with regard to residential segregation, the internal heterogeneity of Muslims in the Netherlands should be taken into consideration; living in specific neighbourhoods might indicate an ethnic rather than a religious factor, and might also be driven by socio-economic factors.

In addition, whereas the religious affiliation of pre-WWII Jews was decreasing as more Jews became secular, the religious affiliation of contemporary Muslims remains strong. Furthermore, both communities also showed a different picture regarding boundary crossing. The observance of religious practices, like Sabbath and eating kosher food, was decreasing among pre-WWII Jews while observing Ramadan among Mediterranean Muslims remained steady and the number of Halal shops even increased. Both boundary blurring and crossing seem to be weak among current-day Muslims.

We found more evidence for boundary shifting. The increasing number of Muslim members of parliament or local councils and the fact that a Dutch-Moroccan could become mayor of Rotterdam are clear signs. Civic involvement and political participation had increased significantly amongst both

Muslims and Jews, though it should be observed that it never reached the average level for the whole society. Furthermore, for both groups the religious character of political and civic involvement should not be overrated. The political participation of Jews largely followed the lines of specific pillars (i.e. socialist and liberal) whereas the political participation of Muslims is also differentiated along different mainstream political parties. Also, in contrast to these signs of boundary shifting or the inclusion of a new group within society, we found persistent prejudice against both groups. These are clear signs that both groups had not (yet) become part of the national imagined community.

6.1. Accounting for differences in boundary altering

How to account for the differences in patterns of assimilation, with pre-WWII Jews showing signs of boundary blurring in particular and current-day Muslims showing some signs of boundary shifting? Several socio-historical factors are relevant in this context. Firstly, there seems to be a difference in the stage of the assimilation process of both groups. In the beginning of the twentieth century, many Jewish families had been in Dutch society much longer than current-day Muslims have been, resulting for example in proficiency of Dutch language. Thus, it may be that the differences in boundary altering between both groups are based on the different stages of assimilation that both are in, and that future Muslim generations in the Netherlands may also reveal more boundary blurring.

Secondly, the process of assimilation of pre-WWII Jews coincided with the beginning of the process of secularization of Dutch society. This secularization process might have made it easier for Jews to assimilate in the wider Dutch society. In contrast, contemporary Muslims are assimilating in a context where religion may be contested but is still widely discussed in public discourse, especially Islam. Such public discourses may inadvertently contribute to a reawakening of religious identification.

Thirdly, the first generation Muslims entering the Netherlands in the 1970s faced economic hard times due to the 1980s recession; an economically bad time to start an integration process (Lucassen and Lucassen 2011: 63). Fourth, contemporary Muslims assimilate in a much more globalized context, whereas pre-WWII Jews might have been more focused on the national context. This may have an effect on the assimilation trajectory of current-day Muslims, especially when it comes to boundary blurring. A fifth factor that might have slowed down the assimilation process is the constant influx of settling Muslim migrants, at least until the beginning of the 2000s, that confronted settled Muslims with their original religious and ethnical background. Sixth, changing ideologies on immigrants or ethnic minorities from 1980 onwards shifted policies from promoting multiculturalism to problematization of cultural or religious differences (Schrover 2010). This resulted in a confusing landscape for ethnic-religious minorities whereby secularization was promoted but schools affiliated to a religious denomination could still receive governmental subsidy. Finally, our analysis does not incorporate all relevant indicators. When including information on friendship, language use and clothing among Muslims we might see signs of boundary 'brightening' (Alba 2015) as especially the second and third generation could have developed friendship outside the Muslim community impacting both their clothing and Dutch language skills.

6.2. Contemporary assimilation trajectories of Mediterranean Muslims in reflection of assimilation trajectories of pre-WWII Jews

Although this study shows that assimilation trajectories of both religious groups were distinctly different, the process of Jewish assimilation might provide us some factors that can be of importance in understanding the contemporary assimilation trajectory of Muslims in the Netherlands. The Jewish community in the Netherlands grew rapidly in the 17th century because of an influx of Jewish immigrants. In the 19th century the settlement of new Jewish migrants was low. Although from the end of the 19th century onwards the Jewish community experienced and helped many transmigrants,

most of them traditional or orthodox Jews from Eastern Europe fleeing for the worse political-economic situation, only a small number of these migrant settled in Amsterdam or Rotterdam (Tammes (ed.) 2013). While the influx confronted the assimilating Dutch Jews with their orthodox origin, most Jews in Amsterdam or Rotterdam hardly had any contact with these East-European Jews, and were hardly confronted with their religious origins. Thus, the much higher settlement of Muslim newcomers nowadays might not only increase the number of (first generation) Muslims but also might affect attitudes and behaviour of settled Muslims.

From the Jewish case we learnt that the increase of Jewish-Gentile intermarriage was preceded by a decrease in residential segregation, a decrease in Sabbath observance and kosher food consumption, and an increase in political participation. When reflecting results of pre-WWII Jewish-Gentile intermarriage on contemporary Muslims in Dutch society, the policy to restrict family migration will not be a sufficient means to stimulate Muslims to integrate in the wider society. Mutual aversion, like we have seen among Jews and Catholics, prevents sharper increase in intermarriage of members of these groups. Although the aversion towards a Muslim spouse for one's son or daughter slightly decreased over the last decade among Dutch natives, the existing aversion is still high (SCP 2009). Furthermore, according to the SCP *Jaarrapport Integratie 2009*, the religious devotion among Muslims is high. Religious and social barriers within the Muslim community to marry a non-Muslim are therefore probably still strongly present. Moreover, a further increase of residential segregation among Muslims was noticed in Amsterdam, though in Rotterdam there were signs of a decreasing tendency, while religious practices like Ramadan continue to be observed. Relating the present position of Muslims in Dutch society to previous findings on assimilation experiences of pre-WWII Jews, an increase of Muslim-non-Muslim intermarriage may be unlikely in the near future.

References

- Alba, Richard (2005) "Bright vs. blurred boundaries: Second-generation assimilation and exclusion in France, Germany, and the United States." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28(1): 20-49.
- Alba, Richard, and Victor Nee (2003) *Remaking the American mainstream. Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration*. Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press.
- Alba, Richard, and Victor Nee (1997) "Rethinking assimilation theory for a new era of immigration. *International Migration Review*." 31(4): 826-874.
- Anderson, Benedict (1983) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. London: Verso.
- Bregstein, Philo and Salvador Bloemgarten (1999) *Herinnering aan Joods Amsterdam*. Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij.
- Boekman, Emanuel (1936) *Demografie van de joden in Nederland*. Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger & Co. N.V.
- Blom, Johannes C.H., and Joël J. Cahen (1995) "Joodse Nederlanders, Nederlandse joden en joden in Nederland (1870-1940)," in Johannes C.H. Blom, Rena G. Fuks-Mansfeld, and Ivo Schöffer (eds.) *Geschiedenis van de joden in Nederland*. Meppel: Tenbrink: 247-312.
- Brasz, Chaya (1985) "De Joodse stem in de Nederlandse gemeentepolitiek (1851-1940)" *Studia Rosenthaliana* XIX(2): 299-311.
- Brubaker, Rogers (2001) "The Return of Assimilation? Changing Perspectives on Immigration and its Sequels in France, Germany, and the United States." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 24(4): 531-548.

- Buijs, Frank J., (2009) "Muslims in the Netherlands: Social and Political Developments after 9/11." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35(3): 421-438.
- Bureau Onderzoek en Statistiek (O+S) (2003-2011) *De Staat van de stad Amsterdam*. Parts II-VI.
Amsterdam: Stadsdrukkerij Amsterdam N.V.
- Bureau Onderzoek en Statistiek (O+S) (2008) *Ramadan Enquête 2008*. Amsterdam.
- Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (2009). *Religie aan het begin van de 21^{ste} eeuw*. The Hague : CBS.
- Centrum onderzoek en statistiek Rotterdam (COS) and Bureau Onderzoek en Statistiek Amsterdam (O+S) (2012) *De staat van integratie in Amsterdam en Rotterdam*. Rotterdam: Medaicenter Rotterdam.
- Crul, Maurice, and Liesbeth Heering (2008) *The Position of the Turkish and Moroccan Second Generation in Amsterdam and Rotterdam: The TIES Study in the Netherlands*.
Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Daalder, Hans (1978) "Dutch Jews in a Segmented Society" *Acta Historiae Neerlandicae* 10: 175-194.
- De Jong, Fransje, and Judith Thissen (2010) "Joodse identiteit en ondernemerschap in het Nederlandse bioscoopbedrijf tot 1940." *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis* 7(1): 63-87.
- de Vries, A. G. (1996) "The Election of Jews to the" Provinciale Staten" of North Holland, 1850-1919." *Studia Rosenthaliana* 30(1): 41-56.
- Engelen, Theo, and Paul Puschmann (2011) "How unique is the Western Europe marriage pattern? A comparison of nupriality in historical Europe and the contemporary Arab world." *The History of the Family* 16(4): 387-400.

- Flap, Henk, and Peter Tammes (2008) "De electorale steun voor de Nationale Socialistische Beweging in 1935 en 1939." *Mens en Maatschappij* 83(1): 23-46.
- Foner, Nancy, and Richard Alba (2008) "Immigrant religion in the U.S. and Western Europe: Bridge or Barrier to inclusion." *International Migration Review* 42(2): 360-392.
- Gans, Herbert J. (2007) "Acculturation, assimilation and mobility." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30(1): 152-164.
- Gans, Herbert J. (1992) "Comment: Ethnic Invention and Acculturation, a Bumpy-Line Approach." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 12(1): 45-52.
- Glazer, Nathan (1997) *We are all Multiculturalists Now*. Harvard: Harvard Univ Press.
- Glazer, Nathan, and Daniel P. Moynihan (1963) *Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and Irish of New York City*. Oxford, England: Massachusetts Inst. Technology Pres.
- Gordon, Milton M. (1964) *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Grewel, Frits (1955) "De joden van Amsterdam." *Mens en Maatschappij* 30(6): 338-350.
- Hofmeester, Karin (2011) "Jewish Parliamentary Representatives in the Netherlands, 1848-1914. Crossing Borders, Encountering Boundaries?" in Judith Frishman, David J. Wertheim, Ido de Haan, and Joël Cahen (eds.) *Borders and Boundaries in and around Dutch Jewish History*. Amsterdam: Aksant.
- Hofmeester, Karin (2004) *Jewish Workers and the Labour Movement. A Comparative Study of Amsterdam, London and Paris, 1870-1914*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

Instituut voor Publiek en Politiek (2010) Allochtonen in de Politiek.

<https://www.prodemos.nl/Media/Files/Allochtonen-in-de-politiek>

Joppke, Christian, and Ewa Morawska (2003) *Toward Assimilation and Citizenship* [Electronic Resource]: Immigrants in Liberal Nation-States. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kalmijn, Matthijs (1998) "Intermarriage and Homogamy: Causes, Patterns, Trends." *Annual Review of Sociology* 24: 395-421.

Kivisto, Peter J., and Thomas Faist (2009) *Beyond a Border. The Causes and Consequences of Contemporary Immigration*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Kruijt, Jakob P. (1957) "Levensbeschouwing en groepssolidariteit in Nederland," in *Sociologisch Jaarboek XI*. Z.p.: Nederlandse sociologen vereniging: 29-72.

Kruijt, Jakob P. (1939) "Het Jodendom in de Nederlandse samenleving," in Hendrik J. Pos (ed.) *Antisemitisme en Jodendom. Een bundel studies over een actueel vraagstuk*. Arnhem: Van Loghum Slaterus: 190-231.

Kruijt, Jakob P. (1933) *De onkerkelijkheid in Nederland: Haar Verbreiding en Oorzaken: Proeve eener Sociografiese Verklaring*. Groningen-Batavia: P. Noordhoff N.V.

Kukathas, Chandran (1992) "Are there any cultural rights?" *Political Theory* 20(1): 105-139.

Leydesdorff, Selma, (2002) *The Veil of History: The integration of the Jews reconsidered*. In Jonathan Israel and Reinier Salverda (eds.) *Dutch Jewry: Its History and secular culture (1500-2000)*. Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill: 225-238.

Leydesdorff, Selma (1987) *Wij hebben als Mens geleefd. Het Joodse Proletariaat van Amsterdam 1900-1940*. Amsterdam: Meulenhoff.

- Lucassen, Jan (1994) "Joodse Nederlanders 1796-1940: een Proces van Omgekeerde Minderheidsvorming." In Hetty Berg, Thera Wijsenbeek and Eric Fischer (eds.) *Venter, Fabriqueur, Fabrikant. Joodse Ondernemers en ondernemingen in Nederland 1796-1940*. Amsterdam: Joods Historisch Museum: 32-47.
- Lucassen, Leo (2005) *The Immigrant Threat. The Integration of Old and New Migrants in Western Europe since 1850*. Urbana/Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Lucassen, Leo, Feldman, David, and Jochen Oltmer (2006) *Paths of Integration: Migrants in Western Europe (1880-2004)*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam Univ Pr.
- Lucassen, Leo, and Charlotte Laarman (2009) "Immigration, Inter marriage and the Changing Face of Europe in the Post War Period." *The History of the Family* 14(1), 52-68.
- Lucassen, Leo, and Jan Lucassen (2011) *Winnaars en Verliezers: een Nuchtere Balans van Vijfhonderd Jaar Immigratie*. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker.
- Maliepaard, Mieke, Lubbers, Marcel, and Merove Gijsberts (2010) "Generational Differences in Ethnic and Religious Attachment and Their Interrelation. A study among Muslim Minorities in the Netherlands." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33(3): 451-472.
- Maussen, Marcel (2012) "Pillarization and Islam: Church-state traditions and Muslim claims for recognition in the Netherlands." *Comparative European Politics* 10(3): 337-353
- Michman, Jozeph (1995) *Dutch Jewry during the Emancipation Period 1787-1815. Gothic Turrets on A Corinthian Building*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Morawska, Ewa (2009) *A Sociology of Immigration. (Re)making Multifaceted America*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Morawska, Ewa (1996) *Insecure Prosperity. Small-Town Jews in Industrial America, 1890-1940.*

Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Morawska, Ewa (1994) "In defense of the assimilation model." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 13(2), 76-87.

Park, Robert E. (1939) The nature of race relations. *Race Relations and the Race Problem*: 43.

Park, Robert E. (1914) "Racial assimilation in secondary groups with particular reference to the Negro". *The American Journal of Sociology* 19(5): 606-623.

Park, Robert E., Burgess, Ernest W. & Roderick McKenzie (1984) *The City*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Poorthuis, Marcel, and Theo Salemink (2006) "Een donkere spiegel. Nederlandse katholieken over joden. Tussen antisemitisme en erkenning." Nijmegen: Valkhof Pers.

Portes, Alexander & Min Zhou (1993) "The new second generation: Segmented assimilation and its variants." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 530(1): 74-96.

Ramakers, Jan (2006) "Conservatisme en antisemitisme. Nederlands katholieken als 'medestrijders' en 'tegenstanders' van de joden 1796-1940." *Trajecta* 15: 61-75.

Reijnders, Carolus (1969) Van „Joodsche Natiën" tot Joodse Nederlanders. Een onderzoek naar getto- en assimilatieverschijnselen tussen 1600 en 1942. Amsterdam: Joco.

Rijksinspectie van de Bevolkingsregisters (1942) Statistiek der bevolking van joodschen bloede in Nederland samengesteld door de Rijksinspectie van de bevolkingsregisters aan de hand van de formulieren van aanmelding ingevolge verordening no. 6/1941. The Hague: Algemeene landsdrukkerij.

- Schöffer, Ivo (1981) "The Jews in The Netherlands: The position of a Minority through Three Centuries." *Studia Rosenthaliana* 15: 85-100.
- Schrover, Marlou (2010) "Pillarization, Multiculturalism and Cultural Freezing. Dutch Migration History and the Enforcement of Essentialist Ideas." *BMGN-Low Countries Historical Review* 125(2-3): 329-354.
- Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau (2009) Jaarrapport Integratie 2009. The Hague: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.
- Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau (2011) Jaarrapport Integratie 2011. The Hague: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.
- Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau (2012) Moslims in Nederland 2012. The Hague: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.
- Sonnenberg-Stern, Karina (2000) *Emancipation and Poverty. The Ashkenazi Jews in Amsterdam 1796-1850*. New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc.
- Tammes, Peter, ed. (2013) *Oostjoodse Passanten en Blijvers: Aankomst, Opvang, Transmigratie en Vestiging van Joden uit Rusland in Amsterdam en Rotterdam, 1882-1914*. Menasseh ben Israel Instituut Studies nr. 9. Amsterdam: Menasseh ben Israel Instituut.
- Tammes, Peter (2012a) "Abandoning Judaism: a Life History Perspective on Disaffiliation and Conversion to Christianity among Prewar Amsterdam Jews." *Advances in Life Course Research* 17(2), 81-92.
- Tammes, Peter (2012b) "'Hack, Pack, Sack': Occupational Structure, Status and Mobility of Jews in Amsterdam, 1851-1941." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 43(1): 1-26.

Tammes, Peter (2011a) "Residential Segregation of Jews in Amsterdam on the Eve of the Shoah."

Continuity and Change 26(2): 243-270.

Tammes, Peter (2011b) "Sabbatsontwijding onder joodse families in Amsterdam in 1900," in Gerbert

Kraaykamp, Mark Levels and Ariana Need (eds.) Problemen en Theorieën in Onderzoek.

Een staalkaart van de hedendaagse Nederlandse empirisch-theoretische sociologie.

Assen: Koninklijke van Gorcum BV: 345-359.

Tammes, Peter (2010b) "Demografische Ontwikkeling van Joden in Nederland vanaf hun Burgerlijke

Gelijkstelling tot aan de Duitse Bezetting," in Koen Matthijs, Bart van de Putte, Jan Kok

and Hilde Bras (eds.) Leven in de Lage Landen. Historisch-Demografisch Onderzoek in

Vlaanderen en Nederland. Jaarboek 2010. Leuven: Acco Uitgeverij: 239-270.

Tammes, Peter (2010a) "Jewish-Gentile Inter-marriage in Pre-war Amsterdam." History of the Family

15(3): 298-315.

Tillie, Jean (2004). "Social capital of organisations and their members : explaining the political

integration of immigrants in Amsterdam." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 30 (3):

529-542;

Tilly, Charles (1990) "Transplanted networks", in Virginia Yans-McLaughlin (ed.), Immigration

reconsidered. History, sociology, and politics. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 79-95.

Ultee Wout, and Ruud Luijkx (1998) "Jewish-Gentile intermarriage in six European cities 1900-1940.

Explaining differences and trends." *The Netherlands' Journal of Social Sciences* 34(2): 165-

196.

Van der Paauw, Marnix, and Andreas Flache (2012) "Lokale concentratie van allochtonen en steun aan

de PVV." *Mens en Maatschappij* 87(4): 371-394.

Van Engelsdorp Gastelaars, Rob, Vijgen, Jacqueline, and Michiel Wagenaar (1985) "Jewish Amsterdam 1600-1940: From <<Ghetto>> to <<Neighbourhoods>>," in Étienne Francois (ed.) *Immigration et société urbaine en Europe occidentale, XVIe-XXe siècle*. Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations: 127-141.

Van Zanten, Jakob H. (1926) "Eenige demografische gegevens over de joden te Amsterdam." *Mensch en Maatschappij* 2: 1-24.

Vermeulen, Hans (2010) "Segmented assimilation and cross-national comparative research on the integration of immigrants and their children." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33(7): 1214-1230.

Wallet, Bart (2005) "Political Participation of Dutch Jews in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century, 1814-1848." *Zutot* 3:173-177.

Waters, Mary and Tomas Jiménez (2005) "Assessing immigrant assimilation: New empirical and theoretical challenges". *Annual Review of Sociology* 31: 105-125.

Zwiep, Irene E. (2000) "Yiddisch, Dutch, and Hebrew: Language theory, language ideology and the emancipation of Nineteenth-Century Dutch Jewry." *Studia Rosenthaliana* 34(1): 56-73.

¹ 'We hebben een Hollandse islam nodig', Lodewijk Asscher, Letter, de Volkskrant February 11th, 2005.

<http://www.volkskrant.nl/binnenland/we-hebben-een-hollandse-islam-nodig~a659832/>

² Odds ratios can become extremely large and are hypersensitive to relatively minor changes in the cell frequencies that are very small. The odds ratio is therefore sometimes transformed into a log odds ratio. When taking the log of an odds ratio, 0 implies that marrying a Jewish woman is equally likely for both Jewish man and Gentile man, and a log odds ratio greater than 0 implies that marrying a Jewish woman is more likely among Jewish man.

³ A complete overview of the occupational structure of Jews and Gentiles in the Dutch capital is available for 1851. A group of volunteers headed by Verdooner created a database that encompasses the total population of Amsterdam from 1851 to 1853, based on information in the city's population register. This database can be found at <http://dave-verdooner.net/> (accessed August 2010), and data are adopted by authors (see also Tammes 2012b)

⁴ This percentage is calculated using the information given in Van Zanten (1926) and in the 1909 census data. For the census see: <http://www.volkstellingen.nl/nl/volkstelling/jaartellingdeelview/BRT190901/index.html> (accessed 2 September 2010) (see also Tammes 2012b).

⁵ Although Leydesdorff (2002) concluded from her own gathered data that the proportion of Jewish members in the Provincial assemble and in the Amsterdam city council was lower than their share in the population, she neglects the continuous rise in elected numbers and the number that served simultaneously. According to Brasz (1985) Jewish representative in local assemblies was not bad at all.

⁶ CBS Statline, accessed November 2015.

Abstract

This article examines what assimilation trajectories were manifest amongst present-day Mediterranean Muslims and pre-WWII Jews in Dutch society. Alba and Nee conceptualized assimilation in terms of processes of spanning and altering group boundaries, distinguishing between boundary crossing, blurring and shifting. This study carves out to what extent assimilation processes like boundary crossing, shifting and blurring had taken place for those two non-Christian minority groups in Dutch society. This research is based on findings of recent (quantitative) empirical research into the assimilation of pre-WWII Jews in the Netherlands and on the collection of comparable research and data for the assimilation of contemporary Mediterranean Muslims. Our study suggests that especially processes of boundary crossing, such as observance of religious practices and consumption of religious food, and blurring, such as intermarriage, residential segregation and religious affiliation, are much less advanced for Mediterranean Muslims in the present time. Though several factors might account for differences in boundary altering processes between pre-WWII Jews and contemporary Mediterranean Muslims such as differences in length of stay in the Netherlands, the secularization process and globalization, Jewish assimilation might provide us some reflections on assimilation of Mediterranean Muslims. The continuous arrival of Muslim newcomers might affect attitudes and behaviour of settled Mediterranean Muslims, while policy to restrict family migration might be insufficient to stimulate Muslims to integrate in Dutch society given the quite negative mutual perceptions, the slow process of residential spreading, the continuation of observance of religious practices, and the low intermarriage rate.

Table 1: Indicators of boundary altering

Boundary altering	indicators	Data on pre-WWII Jews / current-day days Muslims
<i>Crossing</i>	1-observance of religious practices	- Sabbath / Ramadan observance
	2-consumption of religious food	- number of kosher / Halal shops
	3-religious affiliation	-conversion to Christianity
<i>Blurring</i>	1-intermarriage	-religious intermarried Jews or Muslims
	2-residential segregation	-indices of dissimilarity
	3-religious affiliation	-religiously unaffiliated (abandoning Judaism or Islam)
<i>Shifting</i>	1-participation in politics	-number of elected / appointed civil governors
	2- civic involvement	- proportion of Jews/Muslims having a job in the civil services -appointed/elected in representative positions
	3-prejudice	-Public opinion and attitudes -experiences of racism/discrimination

Table 2. Religious affiliation of descendants of three or four Jewish grandparents in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, October 1941, in percentages

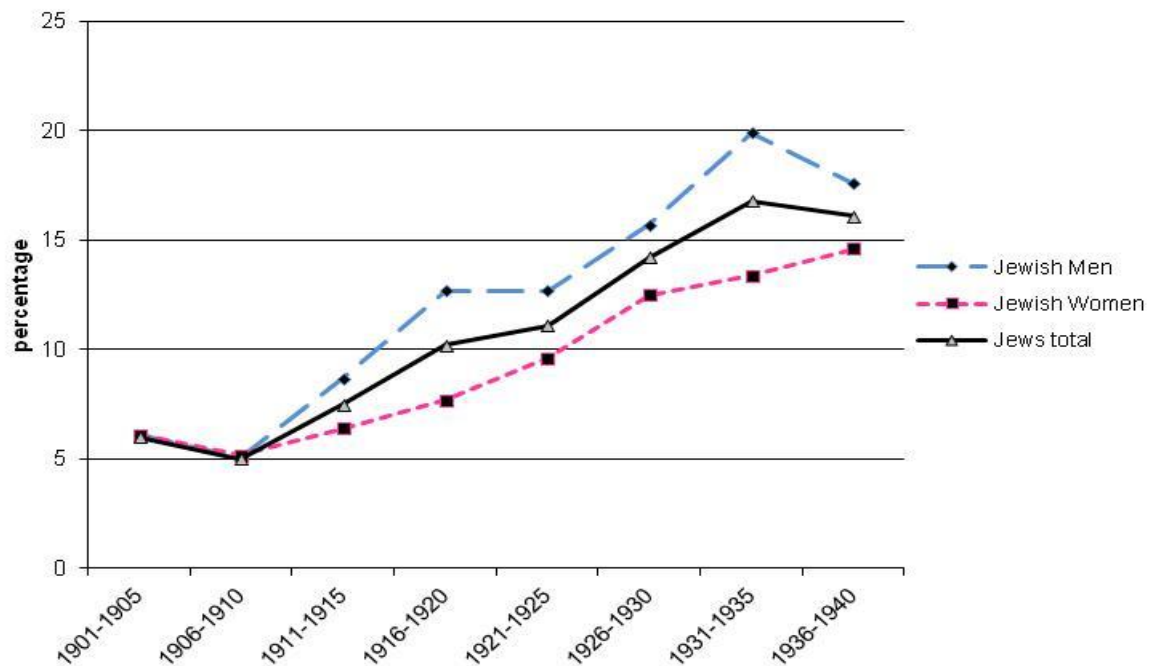
	Jewish	Christian	Religiously unaffiliated	Total
Amsterdam	91.8	0.7	7.5	100.0
Rotterdam	87.3	1.1	11.6	100.0
The Netherlands (total)	89.7	1.3	9.0	100.0

Source: Rijksinspectie (1942)

Table 3: Boundary altering amongst pre-war Jews and current-day Mediterranean Muslims: Summary of findings

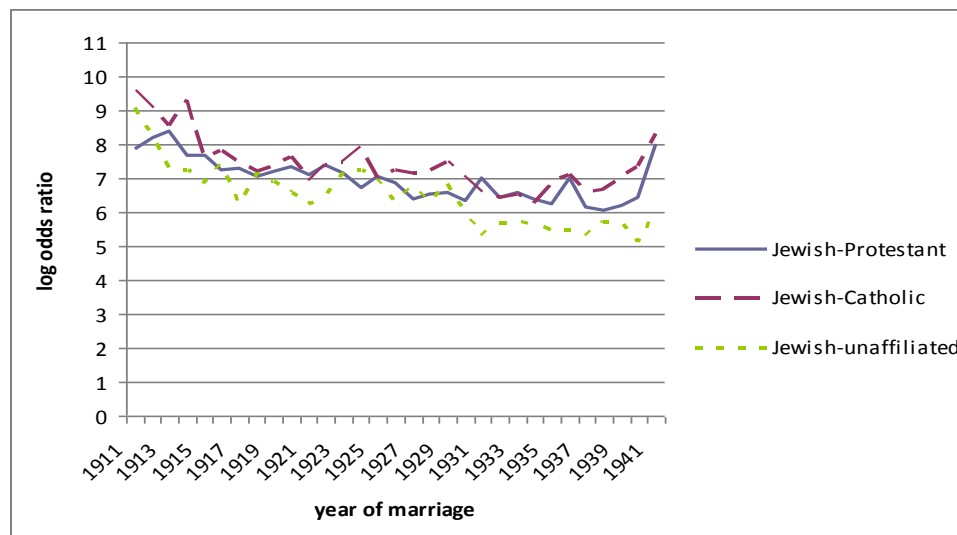
Boundary altering	indicators	Pre-WWII Jews	Current-day Mediterranean Muslims
<i>Blurring</i>	1-intermarriage	Sharp increase of intermarriage	Minimal increase of intermarriage
	2-residential segregation	Sharp decrease of residential segregation	Continued residential segregation
	3-religious affiliation	Increasing disaffiliation	Very high percentage belonging to Islam
<i>Crossing</i>	1-observance of religious practices	Decrease in Sabbath observance	Religious practices like Ramadan continue to be observed
	2-consumption of religious food	Decline of Kosher shops	Increase of Halal shops
	3-religious affiliation	Hardly any conversion to Christianity	Very high percentage belonging to Islam. Islamic identification remains strong
<i>Shifting</i>	1-participation in politics	Sharp increase in political participation	Increase in political participation
	2- civic involvement	Sharp increase in civic involvement	Increase in civic involvement
	3-prejudice	Persistent prejudice against Jews	Persistent prejudice against Muslims

Figure 1 percentage of Jews married to a Gentile of all Jews who got married in Amsterdam 1901-1940, split for Jewish men and Jewish women



Sources: Boekman (1936, pp. 59-60), Bureau van statistiek der gemeente Amsterdam (Mededeling no. 67, 1921), Grewel (1955, pp. 345-346; adapted by the authors, see also Tammes 2010a).¹

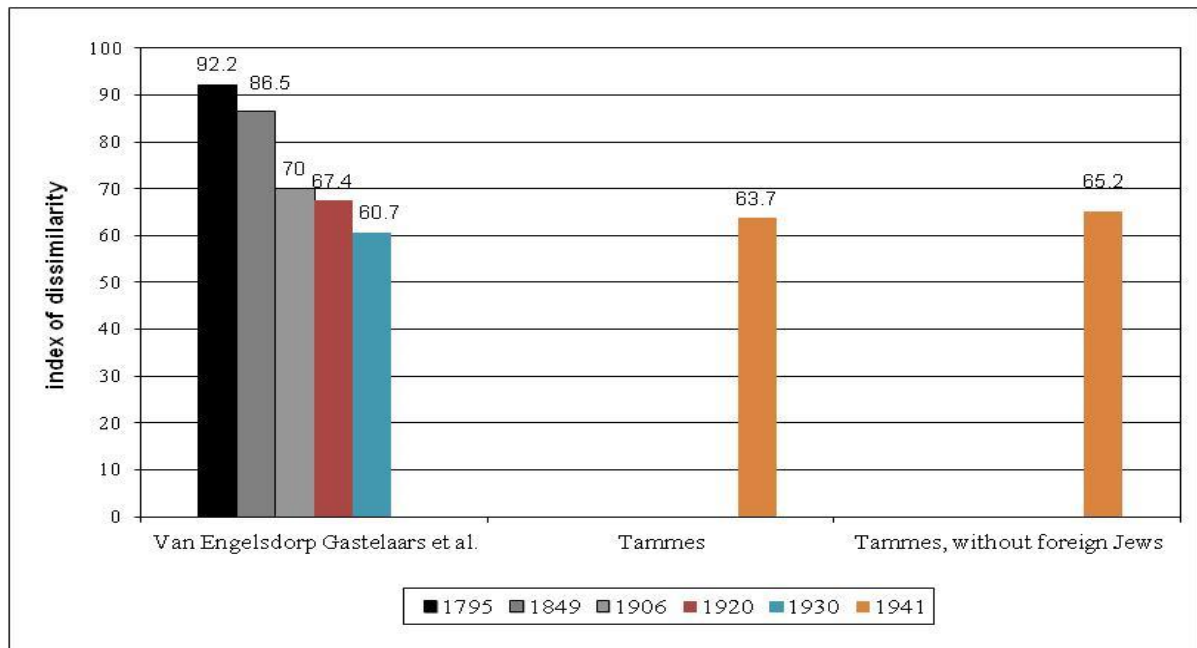
Figure 2: Log odds ratios for Jewish-Protestant, Jewish-Catholic, and Jewish-unaffiliated intermarriage in Amsterdam, 1911-1941.



Source: Tammes (2010a)

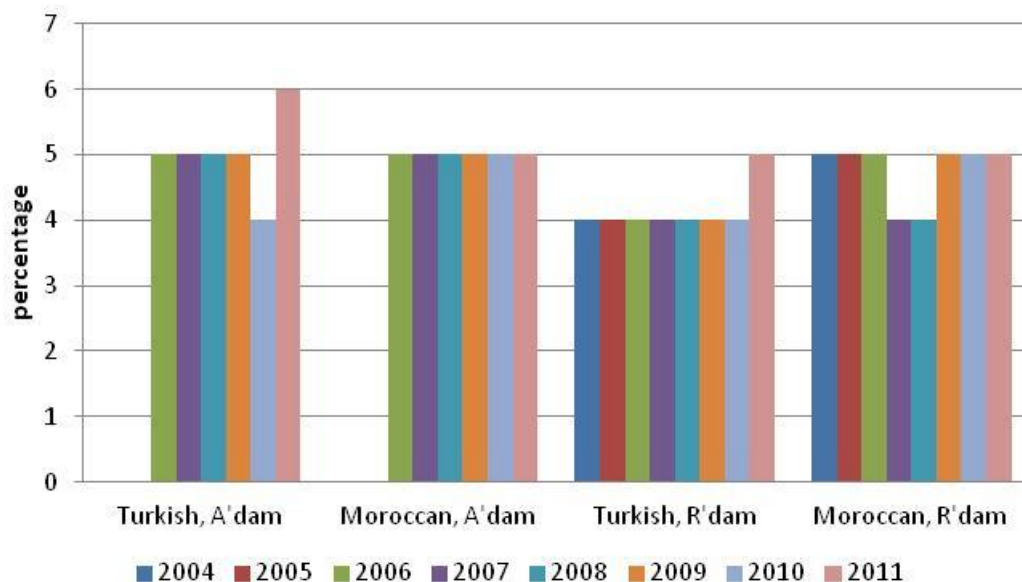
¹ Grewel calculated the proportion of intermarriages on 1.000 complete Jewish marriages for every five year period, respectively 128, 106, 163, 228, 251, 330, 405, and 384. Using these numbers we calculated the percentage of mixed marriages on all marriages contracted by Jews, i.e. in 1901-1905 this percentage is $(128/1128) \cdot 100 = 11.3$.

Figure 3: Indices of dissimilarity (ID) calculated by Van Engelsdorp Gastelaars et al. and Tammes.



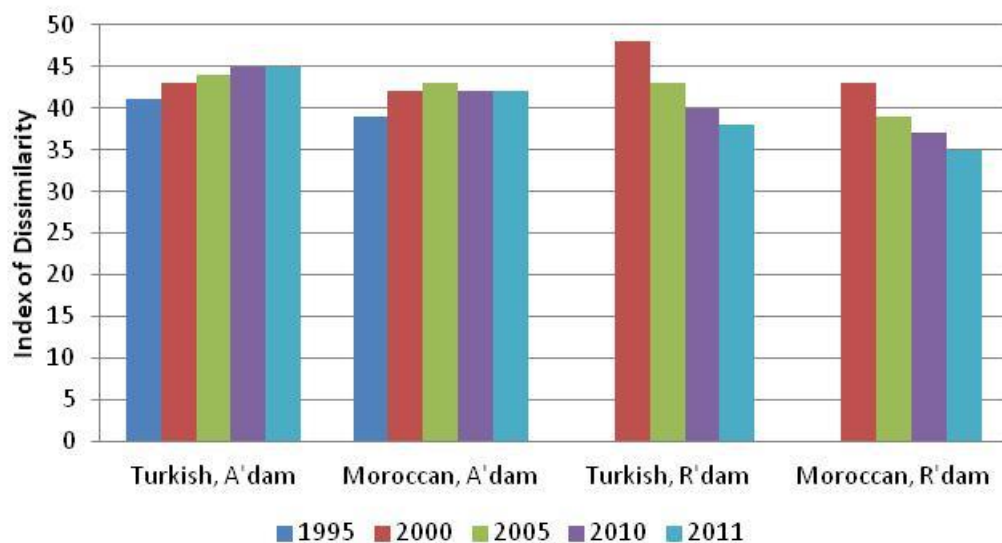
Source: Tammes (2011a)

Figure 4: Percentage of Turkish and Moroccan men married to someone outside their religious-ethnic group of all Turkish and Moroccan men married in Amsterdam or Rotterdam, 2004-2011.



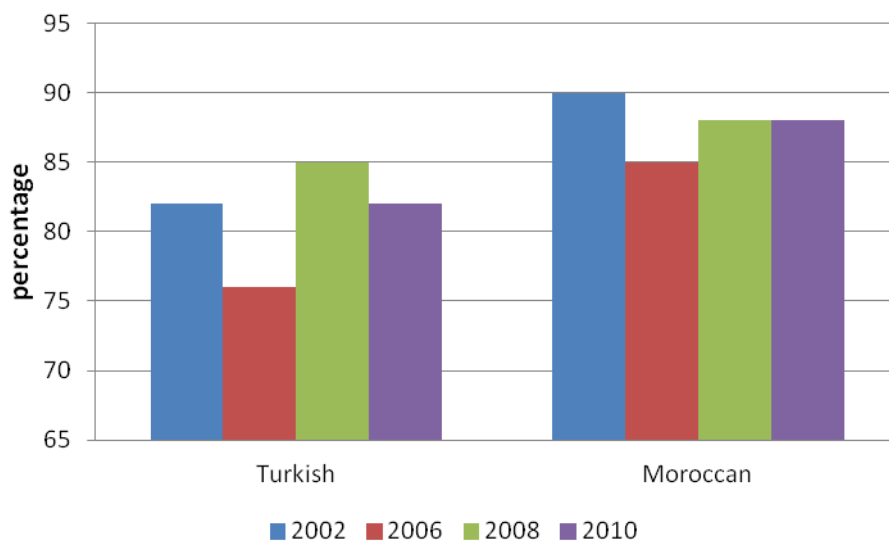
Source: COS & O+S, 2012: 121.

Figure 5: indices of dissimilarity for Turkish and Moroccan citizen in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, 1995-2011



Source: COS & O+S 2012, p. 119.

Figure 6: percentage of Turkish and Moroccan citizen in Amsterdam religiously affiliated, 2002-2010



Source: O+S (2011, 2009, 2007, 2003)